

New Republic

SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS:

"Let The People In"

**END THE POWER OF POLITICAL
BOSSES AND MACHINES TO SELECT
OUR CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT**

**Newbold Morris and "Tyranny Over
The Minds of Men"**

by Irving Brant

Essays and Reviews by:

John Crowe Ransom

Isaac Rosenfeld

Mark Schorer

Stephen Spender

MAR 26 1952

Letters

Communism in India

● What is the cause of Communist strength in the Indian elections?

In one Southern area—Andhra in North Madras, and neighboring Telengana in Hyderabad, the center of the 30 million Telegu-speaking people—the Communists won almost every legislative post, defeating every regional Congress leader. Because these startling victories came a month ahead of polling day in the rest of India, they had immense psychological effect in later voting. But their significance is best shown in the fact that until the eve of the election the Communists were outlawed and hunted "bandits" in both Madras and Hyderabad.

It is Telengana, in Southern Hyderabad, where the Reds first applied Mao Tse-tung's program to Indian soil. In 1948, they led a peasant rebellion which liquidated landlords and divided the land in about 2,000 villages. Then the Indian Army invaded the state, proclaimed martial law, and commenced "wiping out the Communist menace," a process which continued for three years. In the elections, over three out of four voters in Telengana chose the uncrushed Communism.

Without doubt, 1952 marks the rise of Indian Communism. But before concluding that only Communists can come out on top of an Asian social revolution, a closer assessment of Red strength, and weakness, is required. Certain facts should be kept in mind:

That the total vote of the Communists amounts only to 5 percent of the electorate.

That their victories were mainly located in two Southern strongholds, the Telegu area, and in Travancore-Cochin: 135 of their 181 Assembly seats and 20 of their 27 members of Parliament come from this region.

That in the three largest northern provinces, Bombay, Bihar and U.P., comprising about 40 percent of India's population, the Communists polled less than half a million votes and won not a single seat in Parliament and but one Assembly seat (in Bombay).

That in these three states, the Socialists polled almost six million votes and won 46 Assembly seats, outranking the Communists, as they did in a majority of the other states.

Both the Communists and Congress are now trying to discount the Socialist Party as a serious alternative. Of course, both have a vested interest in presenting themselves as the only two choices. However, during the election, the Communists spent

a great part of their time attacking the Socialists, as did Nehru, who paid little attention to the Reds.

Although emerging with no one strategic base like the Communists, the Socialists, with 10 percent of the total vote, and over five million more votes than the Communists, did much better than newspapers here indicated. For instance, Mr. Trumbull reported in the N.Y. *Times* on January 13, 1952, that in Bombay the Congress candidate (fortuitously named Gandhi) "handily outpolled both S. A. Dange, founder of the Indian Communist Party, and Asoka Mehta, general secretary of the Socialist party." He did not report the vote in this key Bombay district, which was:

Congress: 149,138

Socialists: 139,741

Communists: 96,765

Independents: over 50,000

The Socialists did lose to Congress by a bare 9,000 votes, but in this crucial center of India's industrial workers they also "handily outpolled" the Communists' colorful leader by over 40,000 votes.

Even in Travancore-Cochin, scene of the Communists first and most surprising victory, the Socialists polled over 500,000 votes to the Communists 650,000. And in a major Northern state like Bihar, the Socialists polled 1.7 million votes and won 23 Assembly seats, to the Communists 93,000 votes and no seats.

Such items were unreported in the American press, which is accustomed to viewing the choice in Asia as it was in China—between the corruption and inaction of, in India's case, the Congress, and the active promises of the Communists. It is cold comfort that the Kremlin appears to recognize that India has what China never had: a democratic alternative. On October 19, 1951, the *Cominform Journal* noted that "the biggest obstacle in the path" of Communism (alias Wanti-imperialism) "is represented by the right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party in India." The Socialists are hardly right-wing in any sense we know, but they are both anti-Communist and ready for full-scale social revolution. They now stand as the only significant opposition party firmly opposed to the Reds' United Front approach.

Two footnotes, which amount to the toughest questions, need to be added.

For some of the very districts, such as Guntur, which in 1922 and 1931 led the nation in Gandhian *satyagraha*, are now Red strongholds. The Communist underground leader of that area was once a Gandhi follower who lived six years at Sevagram, only to renounce that way in favor of Stalin's. The roll of victorious Red candidates sounds like a roster of Gandhi's Salt March. And in Travancore, a poor province which is the most

Christian (some say 30 percent and the most literate, Indians say 65 percent), the Communists won their first great Indian victory—a haunting conclusion for those who think that American money plus a little Christianity will suffice to contain Communism.

Washington, D. C. HARRIS WOFFORD JR.

What Marx Meant

● Mr. Cole's first article on Marxism (NR, March 17) I believe is wrong in its very apologetic attitude toward Marx's "law" of increasing misery of the working class under capitalism. Marx was a materialistic Hegelian. Hegel tried to explain social change by the alternation of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, in which the thesis is the given situation, the antithesis is some new factor or development, such as a discovery, an invention, or an invasion, or (according to Hegel but not to Marx) a new idea or religion, and the synthesis is the result of the way in which this new factor profoundly changes the old order. The analogy with Toynbee's theory of challenge and response is apparent.

Now in Marx' theory of contemporary

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

These Converts!

Since his service as ambassador to Russia, Harriman has transformed the chapel in his father's house into a badminton court. — *From the Washington Times Herald.*

Out of Hand

According to Cardinal Segura, a campaign of "benevolence" toward Protestantism began in Spain with expressions of sympathy for Protestant Britain over the death of George VI on February 6 and had now reached "extremely grave" proportions. — *From the New York Times.*

And Not Cricket

Clement Attlee's recent references to this country have been almost as unfriendly as those of Aneurin Bevan. . . . Such hypocrisy in one who pretended to be a friend and particularly in a man who has held such an exalted station, must be attributed to Marxism, because it certainly is un-English. — *From the Washington Daily News.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors.

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WE HAVE always hankered to be the runner-up in a tennis championship so that we could vary the tiresome "best man won" routine that comes after the last play. We would leap nimbly over the white net, all right, to shake hands with our conqueror in the traditional gesture, but none of that smug self-abasement for us! We would snarl something about a fund to have the linesman's eyes examined and observed sourly that we never would have lost if we hadn't felt half sick. Thinking of this secret yearning of ours, we found ourself drawn more and more irresistibly to Bob Taft. When things started going against him last week in the New Jersey primary he pulled right out with angry comment and we admire him for it. None of this cant and hypocrisy about "sportsmanship" for our man Taft; there is such a thing as being too honest to be a good loser. We expect something really big from our man if he slides in Wisconsin.



If ever we saw a national trend forming, it's the one going on in America today from guns to butter. All the indications are that the country is starting one of those giddy roller-coaster dips that keep the world's nerves raw. You recall our scamper to demobilize when World War II ended when Truman stunned Europe by canceling Lend-Lease the week after Japanese surrender. Then came Korea, and we all rushed violently the other way. After Korea no sacrifice was too great, no belt-tightening too drastic, etc. . . . Well, there's a stalemate now in Korea. Uncle Joe has been quiet for a while, and see what's happening. Whoops for economy! The Truman \$5 billion tax-increase proposal was laughed out of Congress; UMT was beaten decisively; the House has just lopped \$174 million from the Atomic Energy Commission's budget, and the issue on the Truman \$7.9 billion foreign-aid bill is whether to cut it in half, and stop

fooling around with petty cuts of a billion or so. What can internationalist Congressmen do? The big slide back seems to have started. They feel that the foreign-aid program is vital, but this is an election year and "economy" is the key word. The strongest voice that could be raised for the foreign-aid measure is Eisenhower's, at first hand before Congress. But he is caught up in Presidential politics.

Sen. Joe McCarthy appeared March 16 on Edward Murrow's TV show. It was just a brief appearance but time enough for nimble Joe to falsify a vital piece of evidence. McCarthy charged that all the time Sen. William Benton was attacking him for hiding behind Senatorial immunity, Benton was doing the same thing. With great dramatic effect McCarthy read to the big television audience what he said were the printed press release instructions on Benton's speech to the Senate subcommittee. Actually they were not the words. He got his triumph by the simple process of misquotation. What was written at the top of the Benton statement was the customary Washington press release caution to reporters on the time of delivery to prevent pre-publication. The pertinent phrase warned that the testimony "must be held in strict confidence for release as it becomes a part of the record of the subcommittee." As taken down by tape recording this is how McCarthy verbally forged the evidence to the TV audience: "No part of this must be used by the press until *it becomes immune as I testified*" (sic). What is astonishing about this, as always about McCarthy, is his simple audacity. It is the trait shared with Mussolini, Peron, Hitler. What he was saying was obviously an untruth, and he was saying it on the record to millions of people, on a respectable television show. And at the crucial moment there was nobody there to contradict him. No later refutation could catch up with the original.

Often the reporter is at a loss as to what is really important. An expert from the Federal Reserve System told us the biggest news of the year was Churchill's recent decision to jump the Bank of England's interest rate from 2½ percent to 4 percent overnight. Generally interest rates go up only a quarter of a half of a percent; this news, so sensational to the vast, mysterious worldwide money markets, means Britain is trying the classical way to choke credit, reduce spending, halt inflation—the very thing that the US Treasury won't let our own Federal Reserve System do. Well, a terrific financial struggle has begun in Britain, all the more extraordinary because the common man has no idea what's up.

The public is also only dimly aware of an even more important development, Moscow's proposal for an independent Germany—united and rearmed, but in effect neutralized. This has elements of extraordinary attractiveness to Germany. Allied diplomats are unable to dismiss the latest Soviet proposal as simply a propaganda move.

Notes: If Taft doesn't make a good showing next week in Wisconsin he's out. . . . Ike's attraction for the top GOP bosses grows: Taft's victory might be close and many GOP Senators would lose; Ike's the only man who would promise a real Republican landslide that would re-elect isolationist GOP Senators like McCarthy, Bricker, Cain, Jenner, Kem, Langer, Malone, Watkins and the rest. . . . The corruption issue may fade soon: Democrats are tired of it and Republicans now find leading Senators Brewster and Bridges connected ambiguously with mystery man Henry Grunewald. . . . Our hat is off to Drew Pearson for the exposures he's constantly made. . . . And here's a contributor's parody of Longfellow on the NH results: "Between the Taft and the Truman, As the votes are beginning to sour, There comes a pause in the conflict, that is known as the Eisenhower." . . . We should know soon whether reluctant Truman can persuade reluctant Adlai Stevenson. . . . Steel settlements should boost United States wages and prices.

Washington

T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

social development, the thesis was capitalism, the antithesis is the labor movement, and the new synthesis which was to result would be Socialism.

In his economic works Marx was analyzing capitalism. He used the device, common to other classical economists, of analyzing how "pure" capitalism would work, just as classical economists analyzed the working of a state of "pure" competition. A pure capitalism is one unmodified by its antithesis, the labor movement, either politically or industrially.

I suggest that, given the surplus supply of labor power which is normal in peace time, the law of increasing misery does apply to those sections of the working class which are working under "pure" capitalist conditions, i.e. where they are not protected by either labor legislation or effective unions, or, in other words, by the effects of the antithesis working on the thesis. We have seen the conditions of such workers in our time in the so-called "slave markets" for the day-to-day domestic workers in the Bronx during the depression, and in the case of migratory agricultural workers whose condition is so vividly portrayed in *Grapes of Wrath*, and where similar conditions still exist among the Mexican migratory workers known as "wetbacks." For these were or are almost the only sections of the working class still subject to the pressure of capitalism without protection either from labor legislation or trade unionism. And certainly in both cases wages were and are down to the bare subsistence level.

I submit that Marx was not wrong on the increasing misery of the working class under "pure" capitalism, but only on the pace and method by which capitalism would be changed in the direction of socialism by the impact of the labor movement as its antithesis.

New York City ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

Gaullist Tactics

● I read in the last number of the *New Republic* (NR, Jan. 28), in an article by Percy Winner, that General de Gaulle's followers are breaking up liberal meetings, using clubs and shouting, among other niceties: "Dirty Jews! . . . Long live the Leader!"

This is so preposterous, so grossly and fantastically untrue, that I would not take the trouble of answering it, were it not for the fact that honest liberals in the US might be deceived by that propaganda. I therefore affirm that never were such mottoes used by our people. Never is de Gaulle referred to as "the Leader" among us, nor are anti-Semitism and racism tolerated by our movement, which

freely admits Jews and Negroes within its ranks and its governing bodies. Mr. Winner's wild calumnies are all the more insulting as they are aimed at men who, as is my case, have fought for many years against Fascism and Nazism.

Paris

JACQUES SOUSTELLE

Member of Parliament, President of the Gaullist group in the National Assembly.

● It is true that M. Soustelle has a good record of anti-Nazism; that other men in the Rally of the French People have an equally good record; that the Party "freely admits Jews and Negroes within its ranks and its governing bodies"; and that the official policies do not include "anti-Semitism and racism." It is also true that the Party and the "movement" of which it is the formal expression include many more men who have not only bad records but equally bad present conduct and expressed attitudes; that de Gaulle is often referred to in print and verbally as *le chef*; and that de Gaulle's followers have broken up meetings shouting: "Vive le chef," and "A bas les juifs."

A case in point was a meeting of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish students' and youth organizations at the Palais de la Mutualité in Paris. It was by no means an isolated example of a passionate zeal in word and deed whose steady and disquieting growth within the Gaullist movement suggests that M. Soustelle's respectability is more official than typical, more designed for foreign consumption than representative of Gaullism as it is in fact becoming within France. Moreover, in view of M. Soustelle's position, the readers should judge whether it was he or I who was trying to "deceive" by "propaganda."

Paris

PERCY WINNER

The 1952 Campaign

● To what Victor S. Garros says about Douglas as a Presidential candidate (NR, March 3) I could say: Amen! But Mr. Garros misses the point about the liberals. There are practically none! A liberal party without the support of Labor is nothing. Look at England! Our labor men are but fleas on the dog of big business. Give labor so and so much of the dollar made by killing a Chinaman, and all labor will go for the Chinaman.

Pabokee, Fla.

R. E. BOE

● After reading the article on Taft (NR, March 17) . . . I am inclined to think there is nothing a candidate for the Presidency won't do, except murder his wife. Taft, with his background, education, wealth and social standing! It almost makes you despair of men! . . .

Roslyn, L. I.

FRANCIS JONES



REFLECTIONS ON THE TROUBLES OF NEWBOLD MORRIS

NEWBOLD MORRIS, poor man, forgot his wife's instructions to keep his shirt on, as he faced the Senate's Grand Inquisitors. Had he been a professor, a writer of books on China, or a minor liberal whom a one-time Communist heard mentioned at a cell meeting, Morris would by now be in jail for blurting out in his anguish that character assassins are roaming on Capitol Hill.

But Sen. Pat McCarran calmed down his colleagues McCarthy, Mundt and Nixon when the demand for citation for contempt against Morris was heard. Morris' guilt was conceded, but a wealthy Republican lawyer was not the best choice for a prison sentence.

Yet neither McCarran nor any Senator quoted in the press spoke of Morris' innocence—his right, as a free-born American to tell the inquisitors that they are a disgrace to their country. Morris, the Judiciary Committee Chairman said in advising against contempt proceedings, was so "emotionally upset that he was not responsible for what he was saying." In other words, according to the highest law authority in the legislative branch of the government, Morris' crime was overlooked because he was momentarily deranged.

And what was the crime? Aroused by an attack on his patriotism, Morris had said to his assailants:

"In Washington in the past three years you have created an atmosphere so vile that the people have lost confidence in their government. . . . It's your business, this character assassination. . . ."

Was this a violation of a federal law? If so, then every time a witness gathers courage enough to speak his mind, he faces punishment.

As an individual, any person addressed in such terms could find out by bringing civil suit for slander or by trying to get a court indictment for criminal slander. If Joe McCarthy sought such redress, the sun would no doubt shine at midnight and the moon burn at high noon.

In what sense is a Senator different from the rest of us? There is a federal clause, title 2, section 92 of the US Code, which makes it a misdemeanor for any witness to fail willfully to appear when summoned by a committee or to refuse to answer any question pertinent to the inquiry. That is the only offense known under the loose term "contempt of Congress."

Yet there is a precedent for the threat against Morris—a precedent which highlights the arrogance of the threat and the ignorance and malevolence of the threateners. These Senators who talked about citing Morris for contempt are of the same breed as those who, just 152 years ago, tried the same thing against William Duane, the newspaper publisher. Duane, in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, published the true statement that Sen. David Ross had introduced a bill designed to disfranchise his own state of Pennsylvania in the 1800 Presidential elections. He also made the incorrect statement that it had passed the Senate, and he printed the text of the bill which was supposed to be secret. Publication killed the bill and infuriated its Federalist backers.

The leading witch-hunter of that day was Sen. Uriah Tracy of Connecticut, who later wrote letters over the country soliciting material with which to defame President Jefferson. On Tracy's initiative, 18 Senators overrode 10 and ordered Duane to appear at the bar of the Senate and defend himself. Here was the accusation:

You stand charged by the Senate of the United States . . . of having published . . . false, scandalous, defamatory and malicious assertions, and pretended information, respecting the said Senate and Committee of the Senate, and their proceedings, tending to defame the Senate of the United States, and to bring them into contempt and disrespect, and to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States; and therein to have been guilty of a high breach of the privileges of this House.

Duane, on the day set, personally delivered a letter asking to be heard by counsel and to be given process for summoning witnesses. Rejecting the latter request, the Senate voted to allow counsel, but only for denial or extenuation of the facts charged. The defense lawyers were thus forbidden to allege the unconstitutionality of this usurpation of power.

Duane already had retained Alexander J. Dallas, later Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Cooper, lawyer-publisher and later author of a treatise on the law of libel. They notified Duane that they would not appear because of the refusal to allow constitutional arguments. Duane notified the Senate that he would not appear voluntarily without them.

The McCarthy-McCarran-Mundt-Nixonites of that day

then began to get cold feet, just as their counterparts in the Morris incident did. They put through an order to the sergeant-at-arms to bring Duane before the Senate for contempt, but with a secret tip (according to Senator Mason of Virginia) not to find him. He was not found.

Up to this point, the Senate torturers (that is what Senator Cocke of Tennessee called them to their faces) had been trying to dislocate Duane's joints (also Cocke's language) on the theory that the Senate had an inherent right derived by analogy from the British Parliament (which no longer had it) of inflicting summary punishment at its own bar. Now they shifted their tactics. On the last day of the session they secured a resolution asking President Adams to prosecute Duane in the courts for defaming the Senate.

Duane was indicted under the Sedition Act of 1798 but was not brought to trial. The Presidential campaign was on, and the people were fulfilling the prediction James Madison made to Jefferson that spring:

The spirit manifested in the Senate . . . cannot fail I think to aid the progress of reflection and change among the people. In this view our public malady may work its own cure, and ultimately rescue the republican principle from the imputation brought on it by the degeneracy of the public councils.

President Jefferson, a few months after taking office, ordered the charge against Duane to be nol-prossed. The Sedition Act, he said, was unconstitutional. Federal judges had upheld it on the ground that the common law of England existed by implication in the United States Constitution. Jefferson, like Madison, denied this, and the Supreme Court under Marshall afterwards took the same view. However, out of his deep respect for the Senate, Jefferson instructed the new district attorney that if he could find any *state law* which Duane had violated, he should begin a prosecution under it as an agent of the Senate. The new district attorney was Dallas. He could find no state law violated.

Observe how far the parallel runs between 1800 and 1952. The Sedition Act of the earlier period was a reflex of American fear of the French Revolution and its imperialist overtones, just as the hysteria and repression today are a by-product of the Russian Revolution and the military menace accompanying or succeeding it. The arrogance of the Senate's majority in 1800, like that of the minority which terrorizes it today, was an offshoot of the totalitarian, anti-democratic spirit which tainted the world then and pollutes it now.

The character-destroying techniques of the Tracys and the Pickerings, the McCarthys and the McCarrans, differ less in nature than in visibility. Tracys and Pickerings

have to be dug out of unpublished letters. McCarthys are blazoned to the skies on the proved pattern of Nazi and Soviet propaganda. McCarran uses the knout and rack on helpless victims and strikes the evidence of it out of the printed record.

What of the American people as a whole? In 1800, they threw the persecutors out of power and in the next 16 years ground them to a political pulp.

Today there is confusion and fear, but also a basic decency which sets the United States apart from totalitarian regimes. Men may be destroyed in our country by sadistic subtleties of publicity and Senatorial oppression, but they are not taken out and shot as they would be in the Soviet Union. There are pockets of courage and pockets of knowledge. At least one American lawyer or editor out of 10 knows as much about fundamental rights as nine out of 10 did—whether they believed in them or not—in 1800. There are several dozen members of Congress, and at least three justices of the United States Supreme Court, who would understand what Madison meant when he told the House of Representatives in 1793 that any Congressional resolution condemning private political groups is a bill of attainder.

But where are the agencies for complete and fearless dissemination of knowledge, unhampered by restricting pressures? Where are the effective leaders?

Inscribed below the dome of the Jefferson Memorial in Washington is the mightiest rallying cry for liberty that ever came from the pen of an American statesman:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

In the chambers of Congress and on the wall of every committee room, there *should be* inscribed the words addressed by Madison to his Congressional associates in 1793:

"If we advert to the nature of republican government, we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the government, and not in the government over the people."

Let the American people make Madison's words a *literacy test* for those who aspire to seats in Congress; let them make Jefferson's words an *oath of loyalty*, and they will regain faith in their government and in themselves at the same moment. The spirit of those two utterances, blown hot by the fire of a living faith in democracy, would purge our body politic of degeneracy and fear, burn out all of our native fascism, and build a wall of flame against that tyranny born of ancient tyrannies, Communism.

IRVING BRANT

Irving Brant, newspaperman and historian, is the author of three volumes of biography on James Madison.

THE WEEK

BREWSTER'S GAMBLE

The House probe into the Internal Revenue scandals, so enthusiastically hailed by Republicans, has backfired on one of their own prominent members, Sen. Owen Brewster of Maine. The hearings have revealed a financial deal between Brewster and "mystery man" Henry W. Grunewald, the Washington wire-puller who last year listed \$223,000 in gambling winnings on his income-tax returns as "brokerage fees and commissions."

When Brewster's name was brought into the hearings, he hurried to the committee room and confessed that he had given Grunewald \$10,000 to be split between Sens. Richard Nixon (R, Calif.) and Milton Young (R, N. Dak.) for their primary campaigns. Because he was then chairman of the GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee, which had a rule that no contribution could be made to candidates in primary elections, Brewster testified that he "took the somewhat unusual procedure" of slipping the money to Grunewald to be given to the two candidates. Brewster said Nixon and Young's campaign managers were "happy to receive the checks and Grunewald was apparently happy to accommodate me. . . ." At the hearings last week, neither Brewster, nor Grunewald's attorney, nor the two Senators involved seemed particularly happy about the revelation.

LOBBIES AND THE COURTS

When the Lobby Registration Act was passed in 1946, many of its proponents realized that some of its sections needed clarification and predicted numerous court tests of its constitutionality. The National Association of Manufacturers—one of the major lobbies on Capitol Hill—brought suit against the government in 1948, charging that the Act was unconstitutional and that even if valid, was not applicable to the NAM. Last week a special three-judge

District Court upheld the National Association of Manufacturers on three major sections of the Lobby Act.

The Act provides that persons who "directly or indirectly" influence the passage or defeat of legislation by Congress are required to keep a detailed account of contributions and expenditures to be filed with the House of Representatives. The court declared that the language is "manifestly too indefinite and vague to constitute an ascertainable standard of guilt." To "indirectly" influence legislation, the Court said, may be construed to mean a conversation with members of Congress, or an advertisement or public speech. "It may cover any one of a multitude of undefined activities." Similarly, the Court found that Section 307 of the Act, which applies to persons whose "principal purpose" is lobbying, fails to define the offense with sufficient precision. The enforcement provision of the Act, Section 310, was also declared unconstitutional by the Court. The lobby law prohibits any person convicted under its terms from attempting to influence Congress for three years after conviction. This, the Court charged, "deprives a person . . . of his constitutional right of freedom of speech and his constitutional right to petition the legislative branch of the government."

The Department of Justice, charged with enforcement of the law, plans to carry the case to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.), author of the Lobby Act, is drafting amendments to close the loopholes pointed out by the Court.

Another District Court has settled the National Small Businessmen's Association's \$150,000 libel suit against two legitimate small business organizations.

The Association, revealed as a front for big business by a Congressional committee two years ago, is admittedly tied to the Small Business Economic Foundation, the DeWitt Emery organization supported by such "small businesses" as Sears, Roebuck & Co., the

Celanese Corp., Firestone, Goodrich and Goodyear rubber companies and Standard Oil of New Jersey. The case before the court involved charges of libel growing out of a letter written by Charles Murray, administrative assistant to Sen. James E. Murray (D, Mont.), which was distributed by the defendants. The letter referred to the Association as "a complete phony," a statement later retracted by the Senator's office. After a six-day trial, the jury pared the \$150,000 down to assessed damages of 99 cents each against the National Federation of Small Business, Incorporated, the National Federation of Independent Business, Incorporated, and two officers of the organization.

MALAN'S POWER

For decades now, through literature and by British civil servants, the dark masses of Africa have been lectured on the virtues of parliamentary government. A sufficient number of them mastered the techniques of democracy, they were told, that the white men would do their thinking for them.

Some of Africa's dark population already had the vote—like the mulatto "colored" in South Africa's Cape Colony. Soon, their darker relatives were told, they too would have such rights. But then last year the chauvinist Malan government in South Africa enacted legislation that took the "colored" back 50 years. They were to be removed from the common register and allowed to vote only for their "special representatives." Last week the South Africa Supreme Court announced that the law had been enacted unconstitutionally. The court opinion was unanimous. But then Malan announced that his government would not accept the court ruling. Parliamentary law, he told dark Africa, was the supreme law of the land. In vain did the puzzled natives look for the answer to that one in the little books they had laboriously learned to read.

BEVAN AND ATTLEE — WHO WON?

ONE WOULD have to turn back a great many pages in the history of British politics to find so salty a tale of rebellion and intrigue as that which has shaken the Labour Party during the last few weeks.

The objective of Bevan's revolt is of course unchanging. Its support is increasing. There were 30 Bevanites in the Parliamentary Labour Party when the debate on China's policy began. But 57 members joined Bevan in abstaining on the rearmament vote in defiance of Attlee's instructions (in a personal letter) to comply with the majority ruling of the party.

Who were the new recruits? Dared the moderates expel as many as 57 rebels in order to restore discipline? These were the questions on everybody's lips as the quarrel reached its climax. Bevan himself went down to Wales and there received a tumultuous ovation and an almost unanimous vote of confidence from his own constituents. This was not unexpected. Wales is the traditional cradle of non-conformity, pacifism and of political emotionalism. As a favorite son of his Celtic homeland Nye Bevan is a natural. At that memorable meeting Bevan went on record as saying, "If they ask us to recant, I say 'No, we won't'. If they ask us to promise not to do it again I say 'No, we can't'." By this time, as Bevan well knew, the official leadership had already decided to demand those very pledges and expulsion seemed inevitable.

But the climax never came. At the last moment a group of middle-of-the-road MPs (led by ex-ministers and ex-rebels Strauss and Strachey) produced a compromise which was accepted by the rank and file over the heads of Attlee, Morrison, Shinwell and Gaitskell. The Labour Party came to its senses just in time.

The effect of the compromise was that the Bevanites would in the future have to accept the majority ruling of the Parliamentary Party by the reimposition of "standing orders." Discipline was now to be restored. But standing orders include a traditional escape clause permitting abstention when matters of conscience are clearly involved. The extent to which Bevan's conscience proves elastic will be the measure of the success or failure of the compromise. For the moment a "cease-fire" has been established and truce talks will doubtless proceed behind the lines. Ultimately, one presumes an armistice will be signed and an agreed policy accepted by both sides—always provided that the Bevanites are not so fool-hardy as to cross Clement Attlee's 39th Parallel or to bomb one of Mr. Morrison's private bases. . . .

As the dust of battle begins to clear, the political pundits are busily engaged in totting up the score. In the first place, who really emerged as the victor? The real answer is probably that both men took a beating. Attlee must now recognize that the Bevanites are strong enough to resist

being drummed out of the Party by shock tactics. Bevan, on the other hand, should be considerably chastened by the knowledge that he came within a hair's breadth of outright expulsion. That is the last thing he wants.

How strong is Bevan and will his support continue to grow? The latest revolt claimed 57 supporters. It was a likely enough number, for like Heinz, the Bevanites are notable for their variety. They include the leader himself and a hard core of 30 ardent disciples. On any issue involving defense he can also count on the support of six genuine pacifists and five members of the old Independent Labour Party (a splinter group as old as the Socialist Movement itself). A third group of five who will stand beside Bevan whether he likes it or not is a coterie of extreme leftists whom some allege to be thinly disguised fellow travelers. Finally, there were 10 apparent newcomers who voted against Attlee for the first time.

What kind of people are most inclined to support Bevan and his ideas? Their main strength is among middle-class socialists—the so-called "intellectuals." This accounts for the group's ability to attract attention. It also explains its strength in the local constituency parties where old-school-tie socialists often dominate the policy-making committees. The middle-class element among the Bevanites in the House of Commons includes 14 journalists, 11 lawyers, one doctor, one dentist, one optician and four businessmen. Only 10 are trades-union officials. But the appeal of what has been irreverently described as the "Bevanly Host" reaches deeper than this. It is important to remember, of course, that Bevan himself is strongly, even violently, anti-Communist. His views spring from the thesis that only a nation which upholds the basic principles of social justice is in a position to resist Communist *ideas*.

This is clearly a generalization, and as such it naturally appeals to a very wide range of political tastes. As we have seen, different groups will unite under its banner for different reasons and at different times. In the country at large the Bevanites attract what may be conveniently termed the neutralites. In Britain, unlike so much of Continental Europe, this element still remains a small minority. Whether this minority grows will depend less on Bevan himself than on the course of world events. A sharp economic depression of the 1931 pattern would swell its ranks to an incalculable extent. In London just now, such a contingency certainly cannot be ruled out. In the same way any American administration which attempted to force the military pace too hard would provoke the same risk—not so much the risk of dividing and weakening the democratic Left in Europe as of uniting it behind the banner of pacifism and a hopeless, despairing neutrality.

London

MICHAEL CURTIS

Outside America

IKE'S TWO CAMPAIGNS

A great many Europeans feel that the worst disaster this year could bring them—short of overt Soviet military aggression in Europe or a preventive war against the Soviets in Asia with the near certainty of its engulfing Europe too—would be the triumph of America-first isolationism in the American Presidential election next autumn. It is quite safe to say that a good-sized majority of the Europeans hope therefore that the candidates of both parties—and especially the Republican—will not only be officially pledged to internationalism but personally committed to it by their views, their records and their experience.

Obviously General Eisenhower is such a man. Yet the hope is fast gaining ground among these European internationalists that he will not go back home this spring or even this summer to take personal charge of his campaign. As a matter of fact, the very same conduct on his part—or rather the absence of any political conduct—which seems to be hurting his chances at home is increasing his already high prestige over here in Europe.

One of the reasons is that he is doing his job at SHAPE and doing it very well in exactly the way men with long and rich military traditions like to have it done. A more important reason is that Eisenhower knows that the job at SHAPE is steadily becoming more difficult, and more in need of precisely the talents he—and perhaps only he—can bring to it. Whether or not Americans generally recognize this fact, it seems obvious to Europeans that Eisenhower does. It is not mere chance that men of the stature of Sir Oliver Franks and Lester Pearson have shied away from taking the job at NATO that many persons labeled as that of a civilian Eisenhower.

The present simple and hard fact is

that the future of the European army—or indeed of any effective international military force in Western Europe, no matter what its organizational pattern may be—depends in no small part on whether, and how long, Eisenhower decides to remain in direct personal command at SHAPE. The longer he stays the better will be the chance of transforming the admittedly over-ambitious political blueprint accepted at Lisbon into something like a practical and workable military entity. The sooner he goes the greater will be the risk of slackening the pace, changing the direction, comprising or distorting the internationalist quality of the effort.

The political climate in Washington probably explained why the Atlantic Council made the brash promise that by the end of this year, there would be some 50 divisions of troops in Europe "in appropriate conditions of combat readiness." In fact, the top men at SHAPE admit privately that there probably will be no more than 25. And the problem of creating the others—the ones which such leading Atlanticist publications as the *Times* of London, the *Economist*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Figaro* of Paris and the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan agree in calling the "phantom" divisions—is largely a matter of finding and training reserves. Although the problem of reserves can perhaps be kept strictly military in Great Britain, it cannot on the continent. As much, if not more, politics gets into it in countries like France and Italy as did into the Congressional vote on UMT. Nor can there really be a "common" method of facing the psychological elements in a country, like Britain, with practically no Communists and few neutralists; and countries, like France and Italy, with millions of both.

It is fortunate that one of General Eisenhower's talents is the kind of ability to play both low and high politics on behalf of European rearmament as President Roosevelt was able to use on behalf of American preparedness. A case in point was his decision to put the Turkish and Greek armed forces directly under the command of Admiral Carney—as a temporary expedient—in-

stead of under SHAPE's Mediterranean ground force commander, General Castiglione, an Italian. The Italians howled of course; but their complaints of hurt pride will remain rhetorical and not the preface to internecine intrigue, as they might well become under a different supreme commander.

Eisenhower is by no means famous for his friendship toward any form of the welfare state, and one of the circumstances which the Communists, Gaullists, Bevanites and neutralists will try to exploit is the decline of welfarism in Britain and the far more serious threats to social justice now shaping up rapidly in France, Italy and West Germany. Yet the General is an internationalist and a democrat (with a small d) who stands against the trend toward nationalism and its traditional twin, reaction. Above all, he is probably the only man who at this juncture can prevent the steady development of military organization from playing into the hands of the European militarists, or at least of being discredited among the masses—who must furnish the reserves—as bearing the onus of militarism.

One of the American visitors to Paris who tried in vain to get Eisenhower to hurry home complained that, "The General seems to know a lot more about the politics of these European countries than he does about the politics of his own country." The truth may be that the General considers it the highest kind of American patriotism to use his knowledge of Europe to parry threats to the common program of defense.

With de Gaulle in France, Bevan in England, Gedda and the neo-Fascist *missini* in Italy, and the neo-Nazis in Germany doing the Communists' work for them, the time has not come in Eisenhower's personal "Crusade in Europe" to shift his active status from Europe to America, leaving a reserve man to face the enormous problem of Europe's military reserves. And from the European point of view, there is little chance of that time coming before the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Paris

PERCY WINNER

CONSECRATED TORY — ROBERT A. TAFT

III. A Lifetime of Frustration and Faultfinding

ROBERT A. TAFT is fond, today, of denying that he is an isolationist. There are, he maintains, very few of the species left in America. Given his definition of an isolationist as one who "says that we are neutral in everything and we are not interested in anything that goes on abroad," Taft of course is right; Col. Robert R. McCormick is an ardent internationalist.

An alternative definition of an internationalist is one who believes in the steady transfer of sovereignty to a world organization, in the use of American knowledge and resources to raise world living standards, and in the necessity of combined action by the free nations to maintain peace. An isolationist, in contrast, is one who has obstructed every forward step toward American leadership, who denies that the poverty of Asia and the weakness of Europe are our concern, and who rejects the sharing of responsibilities among free nations in the belief that America can and must "go it alone."

By that definition Robert A. Taft was and is an isolationist. The legitimate question historians may ask is whether isolationism or obstructionism has been more influential in shaping his views.

When the Republican Party was internationalist, William Howard Taft led the movement for a League of Nations. Robert stood by his side. When the time of decision came, William Howard Taft, along with Elihu Root, Henry Stimson and Charles Evans Hughes assured Americans that a vote for Warren Harding was a vote for the League. They were mistaken. Harding, once elected, boasted over his victory bonfire that the League was dead. Then the Republican internationalists fell silent. The Party reverted to isolationism and so did Robert A. Taft. Given the responsibilities of power, he might have returned to his father's internationalist spirit. But in fact the Republicans were out of power when America's advance to world leadership took place. Accordingly his theory of perpetual opposition led Robert Taft into an isolationism so rigid that he has never escaped from its grip. Taft has led what Walter Lippmann called "a lifetime of frustration and faultfinding and negativism."

When Taft came to the Senate in 1939, free nations were going down like ninepins, world war was close at hand, the Republican Party was obstructing every vital move of preparedness and aid to the allies. On October 7, 1942, Walter Lippmann wrote:

The opposition may soon find itself in the position where by being irreconcilably opposed to the national policy—the future of the party would become identified with the defeat of the nation. The Republicans would be making a record on which they could reap a political profit only if America were defeated and humiliated.

Taft was an integral part of this opposition, crying with Hamilton Fish and Everett Dirksen that selective service was "totalitarian," that Lend Lease was an act of "aggression" and that the simple precaution of placing guards around naval establishments was "the first step toward a Gestapo." Taft voted against every vital measure of preparedness, earning the title of "a leading isolationist" from the independent research service Editorial Research Reports. He hints today that his intention was that Hitler and Stalin should fight it out; but the truth is that his policy of acquiescence in Hitler's aggression was set in the years in which Hitler and Stalin were in active partnership.

In those years Taft looked forward with equanimity to a Nazi conquest of Britain and all Europe. His basic reason for complacency over Hitler's conquests was a philosophical assumption that after a Hitler victory, American businessmen and German businessmen could reach a mutually profitable settlement of the world's markets which in turn would lead to good political relations.

Thus in September, 1939, Taft explained:

"There seems to be no reason why Hitler should pick a quarrel [with the US] for if he should win [in Europe] the raw materials of Africa and Asia would be open to German development."

He added:

"It is said that the world cannot be one-half democratic and one-half autocratic. Why not? . . . The very victories of Hitler will make fascism more repulsive to the American people."

In the same way Taft ridiculed, a few weeks before Pearl Harbor, the absurd idea that the Japanese were plotting war. When war came he insisted that it could and should be won without an American Expeditionary Force.

Most men, after making such basic and major blunders would be circumspect in their later judgments on world affairs. But not Taft! "We must make an issue with the administration on every issue," he insists. Foreign policy, he believes, is the richest vein in which he can mine resentment and discontent.

In this Taft is at least consistent. He never approved the bipartisan policy of checking Soviet expansion and rebuilding Europe. The *Christian Science Monitor* recently listed all Senators according to the number of times they voted for 30 measures jointly sponsored by Senators Vandenberg and Connally between 1947 and 1951. Out of 96 Senators, Robert Taft stood 75th on the list. His stand on these major issues is fairly clear:

The terms of the settlement. No settlement has been made; but the world has divided. Taft shares the opinion of all experts that the division is tragic. He differs, in attributing it to deliberate planning by the Democrats. "Administration policy deliberately built up Russia," he tells his audiences. "It is that policy which produced the Soviet threat." As evidence Taft cites the Yalta Agreement. This agreement Taft attributes to Alger Hiss, although it was in fact shaped by the General Staff, to avoid an anticipated one million American casualties in an invasion of Japan. Taft's condemnation of the Administration's failure to underwrite world freedom at Yalta is doubly strange since he himself always argued that we had no business crusading for freedom or intervening in other nations' affairs. Taft condemned the Atlantic Charter. He ridiculed the Four Freedoms. He deplored any kind of "crusade." He wrote in the *New York Times* on February 6, 1944:

"There is no intention on our part to insist on the freedom of India or even the Baltic States or Eastern Poland. We are not fighting for democracy, except our own."

Today, none the less, Taft's strongest weapon is a general belief among voters that we were cheated out of the fruits of victory and that Communist sympathizers in the State Department must be to blame.

In contrast, the truth is simply stated by the wisest of our statesmen, George Kennan: "The most helpful thing to understand about this recent war is the extent to which . . . it was not fully winnable."

Kennan adds:

. . . the most vociferous charges of wartime mistakes relate . . . to the conferences of Moscow, Teheran and Yalta. . . . Their importance has been considerably overrated. If it cannot be said that the Western democracies gained very much . . . it would also be incorrect to say that they gave very much away. The establishment of Soviet military power in Eastern Europe and the entry of Soviet Forces into Manchuria was not the result of these talks: it was the result of the military operations during the concluding phases of the war. . . .

. . . it is similarly incorrect to portray the Yalta Agreement as a terrible betrayal of Nationalist China. . . . They

[the Nationalist leaders] . . . were well satisfied with what we had done.

The United Nations. Just two Senators voted against the United Nations in July, 1945. Taft was for the UN, but not as a broad enterprise to better the everyday lives of peoples the world over. He wanted simply "a political organization to prevent war." He saw in the United Nations "a continuing council table." It was not, he insisted, a parliament-in-the-making, and, he added "I would not be for it if I thought it were." Answering those who saw the UN as a growing organism Taft maintained, "The Charter does not mean giving up any sovereignty."

Taft was not satisfied with the United Nations. He wanted an underlying world law, interpreted by courts, applied through arbitration "even on the most vital issues," but not backed up by force.

In principle Taft favored collective action against an aggressor. Yet he insisted that force was unusable in a world organization. "I believe," he told the Senate, "that law can exist without sanctions."

"There is no obligation on us to use force and there never was," Taft argued. His rejection of collective security under the UN led him to deny that the UN could prevent aggression. He referred in his book, long after the Korean aggression was repelled, to "the nonexistent power of the UN to prevent aggression."

On October 28, 1950 he added:

"We have demonstrated that the United Nations is an utter failure as a means of preventing aggression. So we can never rely on it again."

Taft's basic concept of world organization is wholly unrelated to the world in which we live. Its assumption of universal law disregards the simple truth that law is a reflection of the purposes of a given society and cannot be acceptable to communist, democratic and fascist states which are in fundamental conflict. Its assumption of arbitration "even on the most vital issues" disregards the obvious fact that societies will not surrender sovereignty to others bent on destroying them. Taft must know this. His organization is not made from the real world, but the world that Taft knows and moves in, the lawyers and clients of Hamilton County. His world organization is a larger pattern of a Cincinnati model in which the stockholders and directors of the Cincinnati Railway System, who come from the same families, refer their disputes over the size of the dividend to a family judge for settlement. The disputes that Taft's world organization are designed to settle are similarly matters of detail, not issues involving life's basic values and purposes.

And Taft knows this. Within a few pages of his suggestions of a world organization made up of universal

laws and voluntary obligations he states in his book:

"Russian Communism has a spirit of aggression which recognizes no laws or obligations."

That alone puts an end to Taft's basic concept. And sensing this, Taft in his book makes the tentative and rather shamefaced hint that:

"If all the Atlantic Pact nations agreed to a new form of international organization based on law and justice without veto, it could operate between themselves and settle all disputes among them."

Here Taft acknowledges that law is written by like-minded men. But again his world is not ours. The conflicts that arise among the Atlantic Pact nations are not legal disputes but economic, social and political differences of interest and viewpoint. The need is not for a formal and occasional tribunal to adjudicate legal proceedings, but for the continuous joint direction of fiscal policy, of rearmament, of raw-material purchases, and of diplomatic and military planning. And all these require precisely the sharing of political power that Taft sees no need to share.

Lastly, Taft's rejection of the United Nations as a means of preventing aggression is a key doctrine—logical in theory and in practice terribly dangerous for world peace. For Taft's ideal world does not exist. In this world, the UN is the only focal point around which independent nations like India and Yugoslavia and Indonesia can join with the Atlantic nations in common action to prevent aggression. To deny to the UN this role is to deny to these nations a role in preventing aggression, and without them the balance of world power turns decisively against us and against peace.

The Reconstruction of Europe. One-half of Europe went Communist after the liberation, under the gun sights of the Soviet armies. In the free nations that remained, economic resources were insufficient to maintain the minimum standards required for democracy. Governments were destroyed by occupation or defeat. Militant and well-armed Communist parties held the allegiance of one-third of the populations. Aid was urgently needed to stave off famine and revolution. Over the violent opposition of most Republicans in Congress aid was sent to Europe.

Taft's basic attitude toward aid was set out in 1940. He declared then:

The American people may desire to administer charity to a limited number of refugees, but it is utterly beyond their

power to affect the whole economic status of countries thousands of miles distant.

In the immediate aftermath of war, Taft extended his concept of aid to overseas relief programs. He opposed the whole concept of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, however, and maintained that:

If we had an American relief organization . . . instead of an international organization with a dozen masters we would have been able to furnish relief much more effectively than UNRRA has done the job.

For the same reason Taft opposed the World Bank and the International Fund. He voted against the loan which maintained Britain solvent on the ground that it was "grossly excessive." And he held that since the troubles with Europe were caused by the Yalta Agreement and the evils of socialism, an economic program to reconstruct Europe was futile.

Today Taft maintains, as in his interview with *US News & World Report* of March 14, that he always supported the Marshall Plan. He states:

When it first came out I didn't oppose it. . . . I asked for some critical study of the plan and some reduction in the total sum but I did not oppose it.

That is a statement which is hard to substantiate. For on November 10, 1947, before the Marshall Plan was even presented to Congress, Taft told the Ohio Society:

The adoption of the European Plan therefore would first continue an intolerable and dangerous tax burden; second inflate prices further in the United States; third encourage unsound policies in Europe; and fourth, force futile and dangerous regimentation on American productivity.

Taft further declared in the 1947 Senate debate on the Marshall Plan that its entire concept was fundamentally unsound. On March 12, 1948, Taft stated:

The harm that can be done under the Marshall Plan will probably be much greater than any political advantage we could obtain.

Taft led the fight to cut more than one billion dollars from the first Marshall Plan appropriation. He voted to reduce funds in 1949, 1950 and 1951 by 10 percent or more. He explains today that this did not constitute "opposition" because "there never was a program put forward by Truman that couldn't be improved by cutting it 10 percent." But the facts are that the programs were worked out not by Truman, but by 14 nations in Paris, and that Paul Hoffman, the Republican director of ECA,



described the cuts proposed by Taft as "crippling" at the time.

By 1949 it was clear that the greatest barrier to European reconstruction was its defenselessness. Further, Russia's program of world conquest had shifted toward an emphasis on military force. The Atlantic Pact, creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its combined defense effort, was brought forward by the Administration. "We finally adopted the Pact," Taft remarks today, in commenting on the tardiness of the Administration in facing the Soviet threat. But Taft himself was wholly opposed to the Pact.

Taft argued that the Atlantic Pact "will promote war rather than peace." He opposed any effort to help Europe and, returning to his dream world of 1941, concluded:

"We may find, if war ever comes, that our part in the war should be conducted from the air alone."

Free of the burdens of power Taft has clung to this position, attempting to block the posting of American troops in Europe on the ground that this act "is so close to war that it amounts to . . . involvement in war." It was this stand by Taft, in March, 1951, that threatened to undermine all Eisenhower's efforts to prevent aggression in Europe and drove Eisenhower onto the political stage.

The Rebuilding of Military Strength. As America's responsibilities in preventing aggression on all fronts increased, so did our need for military forces and production. At the war's end, Russia's losses and our industrial capacity left a favorable balance of military power for the democracies. . . It was abandoned when most Americans insisted on demobilization. Truman and the General Staff protested. Taft was one of the leaders in cutting back our military strength.

Obviously our lack of arms was a factor in our weakness in Europe and Asia. Obviously the military burden bears heavily on the taxpayer today. Taft combines these irreconcilables into one neat package. He states:

It was less than two years ago that General Bradley testified that we could be safe against the Russian threat by the expenditures of \$14 billion on the armed forces. Now he wants more than \$50 billion. . . . Probably General Bradley was wrong in 1950 and it seems likely that he is wrong in 1952.

Needless to say, General Bradley did not claim that \$14 billion would make us safe against Russia. He was fighting as always for everything he could get and offered no guarantees in return for what he stated was an inadequate sum to cover a skeleton armed force. His budget was as high as the Democratic leaders dared ask of a Republican-controlled Congress. The decisions of these men were determined by the attitude of the Republican

Policy Committee whose Chairman was Senator Taft.

Taft's attitude was clearly expressed in 1947. In that year the Chiefs of Staff, as always, proposed expenditures higher than the Bureau of the Budget could allow. Taft's attitude was expressed on February 19:

Any organization the size of the Army and Navy can be cut 10 percent. . . . The actual cost of the Army in the fiscal year 1947 will be . . . \$10.5 billion. The President is cutting it \$3.8 billion. With the additional 10-percent cut as figured by me, the Army cost would be reduced from \$10.5 billion to \$6.03 billion. . . . In peacetime the cost of both the Army and the Navy should be . . . not in excess of \$6 billion.

In commenting on aircraft expenditures, Taft added:

One hundred million is for the purchase of new airplanes and airplane parts to maintain the service. I think that can be cut. I do not think it ought to be entirely eliminated.

Military expenditures were slashed. As a direct consequence the Joint Chiefs of Staff were forced to give up commitments to secondary and peripheral areas exposed to attack. South Korea was one of these. Yet Taft, whose attitude forced the retreat from Korea, now blames the State Department's sympathy for Communism for that same retreat.

What is Taft's present position? In his book he states:

"We find ourselves with the greatest threat from foreign sources we have faced since the days of the American revolution."

Yet Taft, who maintained, just four years ago, that \$6 billion was the maximum justifiable military budget, argues today when we still lag behind Russia, that military spending should be reduced. He concedes in his book that "whether war can be ended by air power alone may be open to question" but he will not admit that large and costly ground forces are necessary. He maintains that: "The very thesis of an effective control of sea and air by the free nations requires that we do interest ourselves in Europe and the Near East and North Africa and the Far East."

Yet he will not support adequate measures to see that these regions are stable—economically, socially, militarily and politically—and he will not concede that for them the sense of a lasting and firm commitment, for a common purpose, is all-important in psychological terms.

But these after all are the terms the Senator is least likely to comprehend. The citizenry of this nation are six percent of the world's population, and what is in the minds and hearts of the remaining 94 percent, nothing in Taft's experience or make-up permits him to know.

This is the third in the series on Senator Taft. The fourth will analyze his Asian policies.

LET THE PEOPLE IN

WHEN the Democratic and Republican Party conventions meet in Chicago next July, the big-time politicians will be in control. The delegates who are supposed to represent the people will have been chosen by select party "bosses" and professional political leaders in most of the states. Because of this system of selecting candidates to the nation's highest office, a feeling of frustration is spreading more and more widely through the country.

A recent Gallup poll indicated that less than a third of the voters approve of the present way we go about selecting Presidential nominees. Why this dissatisfaction? In the first place nearly 60 million potential voters cannot effectively indicate their preference as to who should be their party's Presidential candidate. This means that almost two-thirds of the people of voting age have no chance to participate in some kind of Presidential preferential primary. At present only those who live in 12 states—California, New Jersey, Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Nebraska, New Hampshire, West Virginia, Maryland and Wisconsin—can register their own Presidential preference in the primaries during the next four months.

Four other primaries—New York, Florida, Massachusetts, and South Dakota—do not permit the voter to indicate his own preference for a Presidential nominee. Nor do they require the candidates for delegates to the conventions to declare their choice for their party's nomination. With only one-third of the electorate expressing a preference for their party's standard-bearer, the political bosses will have a firm control over the convention's nominating process.

The 12 states which do give the primary voter a chance to indicate a preference for his party's candidate will send but 408 delegates to the Democratic convention and 442 delegates to the Republican convention. This is only about a third of the total number—roughly 1,200. Neither of these groups, who know the wishes of the rank-and-file party members back home, will be strong enough to swing the nomination.

The professional politicians will select their party's nominee because the other two-thirds of the convention's delegates will be in their hands. In 27 of the states, boss-dominated county, district and state conventions will select their own delegates who will be under the thumb of state party leaders. The state bosses need to be sure of their state's delegation in order to "horse-trade" with

by Paul H. Douglas

the others at the convention. In five states the party professionals do not even have to bother with the formality of a convention. In these states, district and state committees of the respective parties can choose the delegates directly.

The power of the professional politicians in the party out of power comes from the patronage and favors they can promise to their followers if they win the election. The leaders of the party in power can insure support for the present incumbent or his "heir-apparent" by granting or withholding patronage, and by seeing that a kindly eye is turned on government contracts, loans, subsidies and other favors.

If the Republicans were to win the election in November, the Republican National Committee would distribute most of the patronage. For over two years the Republican National Committee has been controlled by what are euphemistically called Taftmen. Because of this Sen. Robert A. Taft confidently asserted, before any delegates to the convention had been chosen, that he would have a majority of the votes on the first ballot.

In the "race" for the Democratic nomination Sen. Estes Kefauver for many weeks was the only one to challenge the power of President Truman for this nomination. This required a lot of courage. But, in the main, it has been a good development since it will permit Democratic voters to have a wider choice. It is also a healthy sign that Sen. Richard Russell has entered the race. It would be a lot healthier for the Democratic Party if even more candidates would declare themselves. However since it is difficult for the voice of the people to be heard under our present boss-ridden system of nominating candidates we cannot find many who are willing to risk the disfavor of the party's professional leaders. The only way that public opinion will substantially affect the choice of the professionals will be through the natural desire of most of them to have a winning ticket. A strong national slate not only improves their chances of getting or keeping the Presidency; it also helps their local tickets in doubtful areas.

But the delegates will not necessarily accept the real choice of the people if they think they can win with a more amenable, if less popular, figure. This group will sometimes prefer to nominate a candidate who may lose rather than nominate a more popular one they feel they cannot manage or for whom they have a personal dislike.

The people are knocking at the door of the "smoke-filled room," but the door remains closed. With the

Paul H. Douglas, a Democrat, is the Senior Senator from Illinois.

development of the newspapers, radio and television they can intelligently choose their Presidential candidates. The indirect methods of picking men for public office which our forefathers developed before we became a closely integrated nation are no longer necessary.

The people may enjoy being entertained by our Roman-circus-type of national conventions. But the right to participate actively in the process of choosing their party's nominee is what really counts.

A nationwide extension of the Presidential primary would be a big help. Such an extension has been advocated by President Woodrow Wilson, the elder Sen. Robert LaFollette, Gen. Leonard Wood, Sen. Hiram Johnson and Prof. Charles E. Merriam.

Two proposals have been made this year for national action to extend Presidential primaries. The first is a constitutional amendment proposed by Sen. George Smathers (D, Fla.). If this were passed and ratified, it would permit Congress to enact a law which would set up a national Presidential primary. This would be the best ultimate solution and Senator Smathers deserves great credit for advancing it. However this amendment will not help in the present situation since it would take too long to get through.

In an effort to get some action on this problem before the July conventions, Rep. Charles E. Bennett of Florida and I have introduced a bill which seeks to realize this purpose by the faster method of a statute. Briefly, our bill authorizes the Attorney-General to enter into agreements with states to hold Presidential primaries of the two major parties. The federal government would meet the primary expenses up to a maximum of 20 cents per voter. The state and local governments would conduct the elections and utilize their registration and election facilities. But a share of the costs would be borne by the federal government.

We believe that this system would encourage some of the states to co-operate and to authorize such primaries which would permit a direct choice among candidates. The Attorney-General would be given discretionary powers which would permit administrative flexibility. He could arrange the qualifying deadlines, the primary dates, the terms of agreement with the states, whether the primaries will be held on the same date as the state primaries or separately and other details. The only restriction upon the discretion of the Attorney-General in working out arrangements with the states is that the primaries would have to be held before July 1 or before the conventions meet.

The bill would preserve the freedom of prospective candidates to withdraw their names if they did not want

to run. This conforms with the corresponding provisions in most preferential primary states, except in the case of Oregon where a man can be shanghaied into being a candidate against his will. The results of such a primary would not, of course, be binding upon the conventions. But they would have a strong persuasive influence. If a candidate in a given state party primary received a substantial majority, it would be hard for the convention delegates from that state to turn him down. In time, public pressure may persuade the state party organizations to accept the results as binding.

Our bill does not solve all the problems which a Presidential preferential primary would create. In the long run, it would probably be better to have a uniform date for holding all state Presidential primaries. Eventually the law might also include some such understanding as is provided by the Wisconsin law: that the delegates from a state are bound to vote on the first ballot for the candidate who wins in their primaries until they are released by the candidate himself, or as long as he receives more than 10 percent of the vote in the convention. But we do believe that our bill offers a practical means for putting more Presidential primaries under way immediately. Even at this eleventh hour, if the people will speak, Congress may act. And if it does, more states will also act, and we shall have a wider set of choices this year. Then, by 1956, we can perfect our plans and get a still wider acceptance of the principle that the people should control the nomination as well as the election of a President.

What are the chances for passage of our bill? Ten Senators are sponsoring it in the Senate and 24 Representatives have introduced it in the House. Others have indicated their friendliness to the measure. Sen. Carl Hayden (D, Ariz.), the able chairman of the powerful Senate Rules Committee which will consider the bill, has indicated great interest in it. An excellent subcommittee consisting of Hayden, Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) and Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R, Me.) are planning to hold hearings on it.

Ours should be a "government of the people, *by the people*, and for the people." Our history has been a constant succession of events whereby we have come closer and closer to the attainment of this ideal. The removal of discretionary voting in the Presidential electoral college, the elimination of property qualifications, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the women's suffrage reforms and the direct election of Senators have all helped in this direction. We should now be ready to take another step—the extension of the preferential Presidential primary.

MUST INDO-CHINA BE LOST?

THE FRENCH loss of Hoa Binh is not a disaster, but it is a defeat of considerable magnitude, that may be a prelude to ultimate disaster or withdrawal from North Viet-Nam.

Gen. Raoul Salan, over-all commander for Indo-China, has minimized the importance of the withdrawal, which is natural and to be expected. However, Hoa Binh is a communications center of great value to the Viet-Minh. Good highways from the South and from the Northwest (which means China) meet at this city. Viet-Minh communications are now vastly improved and therefore their capacity to concentrate troops and material for further pressure upon the shrunken perimeter of the French and Viet-Nameese forces.

The Viet-Minh can now apply pressure from the north, the west and the south. Not only that, the statement by General Salan that the defense perimeter of the Hanoi region has been cut from 500 to 375 miles is an acknowledgement that a considerable area of highly productive rice land has now fallen to the Communist-led enemy.

The strategy of the late, great leader, Gen. Jean de Lattre de Tassigny, had been to deny the rice production of the Red River valley and delta to the enemy, to cut down traffic in supplies between Red forces within the delta (actually within the French lines) and those on the outside of the perimeter, and to keep control of valuable communications centers, so that counter-offensives could be launched from such centers as well as to deny their advantages to his foe. There was no doubt, considering the hedge-top type of concrete fortifications the French were constructing, of their intention to hold the area.

What the professionals have realized for some months is the fact that France cannot afford any more to replace their losses man for man. Tough and hard-bitten as they are, they are tired. And as realists, they know they are stuck. Nobody is fooling them. They know full well that unless their leaders and the Viet-Nameese Government are capable of rapidly building a well-trained, well-armed Viet-Nameese army of sound morale, they will be ground down by attrition.

Hoa Binh was lost because it was costing more to hold it than the French Viet-Nameese forces could possibly afford.

by Allen Griffin

I have good reason to believe that when de Lattre explained for Paris last November, he knew the score.

De Lattre was wise enough to know that he could not wring further reinforcements from France. He had been promised substantial additional military supply aid in Washington during his successful appearance there, but de Lattre knew full well that manpower was his major supply problem. He knew many of the French wanted nothing more than a withdrawal from Indo-China. He knew he could not win the war with what he had. He knew he had failed on the political front, and that on every side the native population now met his efforts only with apathy if not with antagonism.

When Marshal de Lattre de Tassigny was buried on that gray January day, the policy of France and, unfortunately, of the United States, was buried with him.

The great de Lattre himself had been France's policy; all else was negative and defeatist.

The United States? There was no policy other than to give the Viet-Nameese a modest program of economic aid, and the French forces in Indo-China military aid to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars a year. With a sort of childish faith we had banked on de Lattre to save us from a policy.

It is hard for Americans to learn that this battle to the death in which we are joined cannot be won only by dollars or by guns or by advertising slogans. We are learning, to be sure, but slowly.

The outlook in Indo-China is far more clouded with danger today than it was when I went to that country in March, 1950, as chief of a State Department economic survey mission. Then there was a real hope that a new Viet-Nameese government would enlist the support of the people. Then there was expectation that the United States would develop a vital policy toward an independent state of Viet-Nam and persuade the French to take a realistic position.

Now we must base our hopes on no more than an early wet season and a long one, so that the free world may assess this perilous situation and take action more appealing to the people of Viet-Nam.

The government of Viet-Nam today is not the government of Bao Dai, but the government of Trans Van Huu, who has a stolid strength of character for his own purposes and who is a power, but not a popular power, in Chochin China.

Trans Van Huu is one of the country's largest land-owners. He is the mandarin type. His government

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consists largely of landowners, mandarins and functionaries. The ambition of this government is to succeed the French, to accumulate to itself all the hereditaments, privileges, honorifics, advantages and powers of an independent country. That would be all very well and good—and in the very nature of things in the new Asia—if this government had an interest in the people.

The fact of the matter is that the average French colonel who commands a sector and would like to get the war over with and go home is more interested in the people than the government of Trans Van Huu.

Trans Van Huu is not an administrator. He does not delegate authority to subordinates, nor does he trust them. Everything must go through his hands. He is not a lazy man, but he is unaccustomed to the habits of hard work and quick decisions. Therefore things do not move quickly or decisively in Viet-Nam.

Trans Van Huu is not a reformer. Therefore in a land crying for reforms and for a dynamic leadership of reform, there is no reform. There is nothing to appeal to the people except nationalism—but the Viet-Minh captured the idea of nationalism; therefore to the Viet-Nameese people the Huu government is not the champion of nationalism. On the contrary, its enemy is viewed as the champion of nationalism.

Without a government that appeals to the people, that is interested in the people, that is prepared to do things for a suffering and wretched people, how can popular support be won? It can't be, and it hasn't been. There is popular support for the Viet-Minh, which is Communist-led and directed, but there is no popular support for the new government of Viet-Nam. On the contrary, there is complete apathy where there isn't antipathy or dissidence itself.

That is one reason, in my opinion the chief reason, why the war is going wrong in Indo-China.

The short-sighted French are responsible for having made this disastrous mistake influencing the selection of leaders. They were afraid of leaders who might be popular because such leaders would be more demanding of complete independence. Their compromise, with which they themselves are now disgusted, has defeated the idea of a "political solution." And the French know now, as they knew a few years ago, that there can be no military solution without a political solution.

There are two major requirements of the situation, and only a wholehearted effort to meet them will prove whether the fat of many blunders can be pulled out of the fire. One is the formation of a government whose objective is to serve the people directly and dramatically, a government of men who will appeal to the population as real leaders and real servants of their welfare.

The other matter, which is corollary, is the final French concession to that government of full independence, which should be guaranteed by the United Nations.

This is what far-sighted United States policy should have insisted upon long ago. The interests of France would have best been served by such a policy; but the true interests of France have been betrayed by bureaucratic meanness and stupidity and by those tightly held colonial financial interests in France that have wanted at all costs to confine Viet-Nam in a semi-colonial status that experience has proved to be impossible to impose by force of arms. (Those interests are still making plenty of money, plowing nothing back in.)

The US never insisted upon anything. It poured out millions on the theory that fighting Communism is a good thing. It is, but how about winning?

In the eyes of the Burmese and Indonesians, the United States has been supporting the French in an attempt by the French to maintain sovereignty over an Asian people. The Indians and Pakistanis take the same view. These new governments may not—and we know they do not—see the whole picture or the danger to them of the Communist movement in Viet-Nam. However, as new countries recently freed of direct foreign rule, what they see is another race of fellow Asians held under subjection by a hated colonial power.

America in Indo-China does not look like a champion of independence in the eyes of other Asian peoples; nor in the eyes of the Viet-Nameese. On the contrary, anti-Communist Viet-Nameese say, "Your arms and ammunition are being used to destroy our brothers."

What is hard for Americans to understand is the fact that the Viet-Nameese generally do not think of the Viet-Minh as a Communist movement. Unrealistically, they refuse to consider it such. They look upon it as the movement that it started out to be (when Americans in the OSS encouraged it!)—a patriotic, nationalistic movement for the replacement of colonialism by national independence. They are wrong, but they will never be convinced they are wrong until there is a government in Indo-China that vigorously serves the immediate interests of the masses of the people and that is, in truth, an independent government. Until such a time there will be no morale among the Viet-Nameese people, no loyalty whatsoever to the government of Viet-Nam no improvement in the recruitment of "official material" for the Viet-Nameese National Army, and no Viet-Nameese National Army that knows what it is fighting for. How many gallant Frenchmen must die, how many billions of treasure be spent, before the simple facts of life in Viet-Nam are recognized and become the foundation for clear, sound and decent policies?

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

AN AGE OF CRITICISM

by John Crowe Ransom

THE ADVENT of literary genius is unaccountable. The creators appear unheralded, like men coming from the sea. Thereupon, and at once, appear the critics, who are tame creatures of the land, to escort them and mediate for them with their public. There is little mystery about the critics, and the public scarcely expects to see forming for them in turn an escort composed of critics of the critics. The critic springs up like the member of any other profession, because he is needed in the economy of things, to cope with the novel utterances of the creators, and assimilate them into the permanent sense which the race has of its literature. A good deal is done by the critic if he does this. Though he has no existence independently of the creative artist, yet ideally he is formidable, he is possessed of quick sensibility and capable of powerful conviction. By this standard today we have critics of unusual quality. There is also an extraordinary quantity of them, but that is not an accident. Perhaps a fine artist will give employment to half a dozen critics, depending on his felt human importance, and the public difficulty in receiving his innovation. But in the half-century just finished we have witnessed a furious burst of creative activity, and many artists so far ahead of their public, yet causing such a passion of teased interest, that they employed critics for a whole generation before the public could have comfortable possession.

By and large, the critics have made slow work, not quick work, of such artists as Proust and Mann and Kafka, Conrad and Ford, Joyce, Robinson and Frost, Yeats and Eliot, Lawrence and Forster, Dreiser and Anderson, Hemingway and Faulkner, Auden and Dylan Thomas, Shaw and O'Neill and Christopher Fry. (I call names casually, not as trying for a best list.) Evidently the period is not quite finished, nor

are the critics finished with the period. But the great surge from the deep seems about to have spent itself at the moment when it is survived by its best and most numerous company of critics, who are left lingering on the strand. Shall we say that they were called into professional existence in force exceeding the occasion? Are they the casualties of an occupation which is only "seasonable"? Or is it their cue now to turn and attack each other to see who is strong enough to take the lean livelihood which is left?

But of course not; these are absurd ideas. For what is it that actually happens? The literature produced in our desperate half-century was both ingenuous and sophisticated, but either way it was almost discontinuous with the literature to which we were accustomed. Only by hard work did the collective critical intelligence master and define it; by straining the existing sense of literature to accommodate it. And unquestionably there were strains which most critics thought they could not make in the name of literature, works which they refused to canonize. But now a reverse operation is proceeding. The illumination cast by the new is turned backward upon the old, and some of the old literature alters appreciably in that light. Our age has to use literature in terms of its own urgencies. Succeeding ages are certain to reject many of our prepossessions, yet some of them may prove to be final; our literature has appealed to human interests unusually immediate, radical and vital. However that may be the older literary works are under busy reconsideration by the critics, and some of them prove sturdier than we knew while others lose substance. In our American literature the modern critics confer new life upon Dickinson, Hawthorne, Melville, and James, and find desiccation in other writers once fully as reputable. Among the giants of British literature the critics make displacements too; in the fictions, of course, and in the an-

thology of lyric poetry. So our critics still find a great deal of work to occupy them. If it is not with current production, it is in administering the ancient literature estate which has been inherited; that is, in taking the fresh look at it, to keep it liquid and usable.

But many critics grow in the range of their intellectual interest, and some are brilliantly equipped. They do not stop with applying their modern perceptions to the re-study of the older literature. They plunge into literary theory. They generalize, for example, about the structural techniques of fiction, or the diction and tropology of poetry. This is a study which the philosophers would bring under logic. Yet that is no stopping-place. From there they are led into the metaphysics of literature, and discuss its curious manifestations in terms of a reality-principle. In literature we are in a world of fantasy and imagination. What is the human purpose which drives us there, and what is the reality of these constructions? These questions occupied Coleridge, who perhaps is first in the line of modern critics. It was out of entire familiarity with these questions that Matthew Arnold declared that poetry dealt in the same fluid existences as did religion, but escaped the dangerous commitments of religion. But Arnold did not engage in formal philosophy, nor did he have the modern philosophy of the unconscious. Discussion of this sort is probably the intellectual limit of our criticism, or of any criticism. In this area the moderns are in the act of writing their versions of literary aesthetics. It is too soon to tell what it will be worth, but not to say that at a certain point in the growth of a critic it becomes imperative.

So here is criticism, on its modern scale, with its spirited personnel, in its variety and in the unevenness of its intellectual levels. It is tempting to draw a long bow and say that it is a new event which the whole course of

literature has been preparing. Professional criticism as we have it could hardly come into existence till the art of writing developed, and then the art of printing, and then the technique of mass-producing the books, with its corollary of universal education; and not even then till a spectacular creative outburst could start it off. In our talk about the advent of the creative artist there is usually a pretty gyration, and something of an anachronism. What are we going to do in actual practice with the utterance that "To have great poets there must be great audiences too"? Being Walt Whitman's, it is the utterance of a very late oracle, and it is a romantic figuration, still coveting for literature the primitive, the oral, occasion. The age when everything is printed, and everybody can read, is the age of literature meant for the eye, and the study; and though a true work of literature, in prose or verse, is indubitably meant for the ear too, it is for the ear of the imagination responding to the eye, and it is physically sonorous only in the final act of authentication. It is therefore quite feasible to have the poet both come and go before the audience appears. It is the critics who will find and prepare the audiences—who are simply the readers—finding them first among the veteran readers in their private leisures; and if the critics are ever to find the audiences "en masse," as Whitman required, then it will be later: it will be in the schoolroom.

Mr. Ransom, poet, critic and teacher, is editor of *The Kenyon Review*.

FOR AIKEN: REPARATION

by Mark Schorer

CONRAD AIKEN'S stories first appeared in *Criterion* and *The Dial* and other periodicals in the early 1920's, and then in a succession of separate volumes between novels: *Bring! Bring!* (1925), *Costumes by Eros* (1928), *Among the Lost People* (1934). With the appearance of the collected *Short Stories* (1950), one might well have hoped for some examination of the whole of Conrad Aiken's fiction as a total achievement; at the least, one hoped for some serious criticism of the stories them-

selves. But instead, this book seems to have suffered from what one can only call a conspiracy of silence.

"Life Isn't a Short Story," perhaps the least well known of these twenty-nine stories, ought to be among the first documents of all readers who would genuinely like to understand the processes of fiction. It is about a story writer who "had run out of ideas;" he is having his breakfast—sitting in the window of a white-tiled restaurant, staring rather vacantly out into a busy city street, suddenly catching sight of a woman who might, if she were fatter, serve as the physical model for the woman in a story he is thinking about: for he isn't, after all, quite empty.

The seed of the story had been planted as, passing through the lounge of a theater, he overheard phrases of a greeting—*As I live and breathe* and *In the flesh*. *I am alive* and *You are alive*, these phrases meant; and that, alive and not alive, was the difference between life and a short story. So, sitting in the restaurant window, he imagines the proper town for Gladys (Fitchburg, Massachusetts seems right), imagines her apartment, imagines her story, which is the story of her intolerable marriage. Meanwhile, a horse-drawn laundry wagon has pulled up in front of the window, and the writer's eye rests on the dejected horse, beaten by rain, while the story, through all its grimy fatalities, grows in his presumably disengaged, vacantly staring mind. When it reaches its climax, we know not only that the whole, dreary life of the street outside, bleary and rain-soaked, has been assimilated into the atmosphere of the life of Gladys and her husband, but we know also, as the writer does not know either, that Gladys's poor old drone of a husband is the horse that pulls the laundry wagon. With their identification, the story is finished. Then we follow the horse up the street.

What did he think about, as he plodded from one dirty restaurant to another, one hotel to another, carrying towels? Probably nothing at all; certainly no such sentimental thing as a green meadow, nor anything so ridiculous as a story about living and breathing. It was enough, even if one was a slave, to live and

breathe. For life, after all, isn't a short story.

Life isn't a short story because life, that spavined hack, keeps going on its rounds and never meets a climax; but a short story is life because, no matter where it may go all through its middle, it begins in life and it ends there, and if we look twice, we will see that its middle, too, is the street outside the window. A story by Conrad Aiken, in the characteristically fine middle, seems to rear up on its hind legs and throw its head into white clouds and among patterned stars; or it seems to race down into the abysses of peculiar horror and shrill alarm, but all the time, poor creature, it is out there in the street, stodgy in the rain. The story starts in the lounge of the Orpheum, with a couple of plump blondes, and then loops out into space and history and mystery and the perfect terror of human experience even as it plods, most of the time not knowing where it is, whether in the rainy street or in the stifled scream, when it is always in both.

A story by Conrad Aiken is a horror wrapped in actuality, a fantasy all rooted and real, all rooted in a real detail. "For the most part, that companion seemed to be nothing but a voice and a wing—an enormous jagged black wing, soft and drooping like a bat's; he had noticed veins in it." *He had noticed veins in it*. The rhetoric of this sentence, this juxtaposition of the mad anatomy and the graphic physiology defines the effect of Aiken's fiction.

Just as the structure of these stories characteristically develops in the effort of the material to assert a reality beyond or below its mundane shape, so their drama characteristically arises within an individual mind as it struggles to break over the edge of its own limitations. This whole considerable body of fiction, long and short, has, for this reason, a central core of formal as of psychological concern, an implicit, primary unity that marks it over and over as the product of this singular imagination. In one story, at least, the implicit becomes the explicit. "Gehenna" has as its protagonist an urban Everyman ("Smith, or Jones, or Robinson, or whatever his

name happened to be") who reflects at the outset, "How easily . . . our little world can go to pieces! And incidentally, of course, the great world . . ." and then contemplates the imminence in the materials of consciousness of that disorganization of reality that is madness. But is that disorganization any less real than organization? The possibility of altering the kaleidoscope of being by an act of will fascinates Smith—or Jones or Robinson. "Perhaps I could achieve this gradually," he thinks. In his bathroom, he stares at a door-knob, and through a kind of self-hypnosis, he allows the process to get under way, only, at the last moment, through another effort of will, to rip himself out of this new prison that his consciousness is building. He goes to bed and dreams of

a small glass aquarium, square, of the sort in which goldfish are kept.

One end of . . . the marine organism . . . lies very close to that point at which the water ends and the air begins. . . .

Moreover, I see that this advancing surface is as if sliced off and raw; it is horribly sensitive; and suddenly, appalled, I realize that the whole thing is simply—consciousness. It is trying to escape from the medium out of which it was created. If only it could manage this—! But I know that it never will; it has already reached, with its agonized sentience, as far as it can; it stretches itself forward, with minute and pathetic convulsions, but in vain; and suddenly I am so horrified at the notion of a consciousness which is pure suffering that I wake up . . . The clocks are striking two.

It is at this margin, at this edge where, without barrier, the water of daily human experience stands against the wall of air that is outside it—it is at this margin that Conrad Aiken's fiction is written. And thus it asks its great questions: "Was the North Star hung at the world's masthead only in order that on a certain day in a certain year an ugly wallpaper should be glued on the walls of this room?" Human tragedy exists because of the suffering that must inhere in a consciousness that can ask the question at all. It persists, with life itself, because the clocks in the city do strike, and with their reverberations, drew the invisible circles around that conscious-

ness, saving it for its order, yes, but in the very act of saving it, remitting it to an area within which questions must be asked.

We have, I think, no other body of contemporary fiction like this—so centrally coherent, its very coherence derived from a contemplation of the intransigence of that incoherence that lies scattered on all sides of us, and above and below.

Mr. Schorer, novelist, critic and professor of English at Harvard, will publish a longer article on Aiken in *Wake*.

REALITIES LIKE GHOSTS

WINGED CHARIOT AND INWARD COMPANION, by Walter de la Mare (Viking; \$3.50).

COMPLETE CONCENTRATION on the most poetic aspect of the most poetic subject; a lifetime devoted to being a poet every moment of each day; such are the qualities that immediately strike one about Walter de la Mare. His is a poetry written within the idiom and language of Romantic poetry; and his poems are like the innermost box of a Chinese nest of poetic boxes, of which the outermost is an Ode by Keats or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. He has made no excursions into nature to embody the impression, say of a hill-side flanked with violets, in a single concentrated phrase like Hopkins. Nor has he tried to fuse the French symbolists with the idiom of a Soho public house, like Eliot. It would be scarcely fanciful to say when he was a child, his name gave him the idea that he was a poet.

The poems in *Inward Companion* are evocations of subjects he seems to have been writing about all his life—and yet they seem forever new:

Silence; and wavering candlelight;
Night; and a starless sky.

What makes this poetry is the combination of dreamlike atmosphere with extraordinary precision of imagery and verbal sensibility in the minutest detail, which always makes itself felt. De la Mare is not a word-intoxicated poet, but he has a feeling for every letter written or printed on the page. In one of his essays he discusses the occasions

on which he would spell the word 'grey' with an 'e' or 'gray' with an 'a'. It depends—for de la Mare—on so much. In the two lines quoted above one feels that decision was involved in omitting the hyphen from 'candlelight'—not a decision on principle (it would have been with Joyce) but a decision of sensibility for the finest shades of lettering.

I envied the droning, idle bee
Sucking his nectar sweet—
In that palace of light suspended there
By his hooked piratical feet.

'Hooked piratical feet' (with its childhood shade of Captain Hook) is a perfect miniature: an example of his capacity for control, because only after one has read the lines does one realize that 'hooked piratical' under another pen would give a somewhat fierce effect.

De la Mare is, among other things, an English domestic poet very much in the line of Cowper, for whom a china cat on the mantelshelf is a world at peace, and a cat on the hearth-rug is half-tiger, and a storm in a teacup is a storm indeed. He can put intensity into regret for a moment's irritation. Somehow the poem *Unmeant* doesn't exaggerate the occasion and yet, within its smallness, reveals a world of deep feeling.

Oh, if I spoke unkindly, heed it not:
Had it a language, my wild heart you'd hear
Weeping the love a frantic tongue forgot:
Think not mere spindrift is the sea, my dear.

So within his dream-like poetic world feelings, losses, realities enter like ghosts, often with the peculiarly desolate effect one finds in Thomas Hardy's poem beginning "Who's in the next room?"

A drear, wind-weary afternoon,
Drenched with rain was the autumn air;
As weary, too, though not of the wind,
I fell asleep in my chair. . . .

begins a poem of poignant reminiscence and regret.

Winged Chariot is a poem about Time, which attempts to come to terms with the modern world in lines which

for the first time make de la Mare sound old-fashioned:

All is in flux, the coming and the gone.
This massive globe rotates, zone on to zone;
5.59 at B at C's 6.1.

The speculative, ruminative mind can of course take up ideas of Einstein, Freud or Marx, as a child might a toy—and without losing his divine childhood's wisdom. But de la Mare has—without in the least realizing it—stepped into an area where people are using telescopes with gigantic reflectors and throwing such vocabulary as his onto the rubbish heap because it has no logical meaning. De la Mare is delightful anywhere, but in *Winged Chariot* he leads his words, like a flock of bewildered sheep into pastures where they starve. He raises question which perhaps he can answer in some other way, but not in the form in which he puts them. One turns with relief to the lyrical passages, reveries and phantasies into which the poet occasionally lapses.

STEPHEN SPENDER

Mr. Spender's latest volume is his literary and intellectual memoirs.

AMONG FRIENDS

THE GROVES OF ACADEME, by Mary McCarthy (Harcourt, Brace; \$3.50).

THE TROUBLE WITH Mary McCarthy's satire is that it is always directed against her friends. Not since *The Company She Keeps* has she bitten anyone in plain opposition. *The Oasis* was an assembly of real people in fanciful circumstances, and most of these people, if one happened to know them, were easily identified as leading writers, poets, editors, intellectuals of Miss McCarthy's own literary circles. Although I am unacquainted with the personnel, it seems to me that *The Groves of Academe* is another such *roman à clef*; she does not make sharp observations merely for the fun of it. Now this, in itself, is neither here nor there as a point of criticism, as an author may write of anything he pleases. But in Mary McCarthy's case, her very familiarity with the things she writes about imposes a limitation on her satire, both as fiction and attack, which she is unable to overcome.

The present novel, set in Jocelyn, a small progressive college in Pennsylvania, has to do with Henry Mulcahy, an all but unemployable teacher of literature, who receives a letter of dismissal from the college president, Maynard Hoar. To save his job and career (another dismissal would ruin him), Mulcahy pretends he is a communist and engages the support of his friends on the faculty on the false issue of academic freedom. This strategy is aimed at Hoar, where he, a liberal, is most vulnerable, as he had originally hired Mulcahy, when the latter was under suspicion out West, in a gesture of defiance at witch hunting. The case is made more complicated by Mulcahy's introduction of another false issue—the sickness of his wife (mother of four snotty, urinous children) which is presumably so grave that the shock of hearing the bad news would kill her. There follows a series of meetings and maneuvers, surprises and reversals, with the result that Mulcahy is re-instated, his friends drop him when they learn how he defrauded them, and President Hoar resigns despairing campus politics.

In outline, this is certainly a hilarious situation, one of the best Miss McCarthy ever had to work on; but as a novel it is something else. First of all, there is no real ground for the attack she carries out against the liberal position in politics and education; she has joined in the critique of the "liberal imagination" which is being undertaken by writers who are themselves liberal, and like most of them, is herself implicated in the criticism. That present-day liberalism is full of absurdities is something only a reactionary might deny, and the latter, only because he would want to be more severe. Such a writer could make hay in Jocelyn. But the reason Mary McCarthy finds so much to ridicule is that she sees little to deplore; her satire betrays an unconscious sympathy. She is attacking a milieu the values of which she shares to some extent, and she concentrates her attack on personalities rather than principles. Even so, the characters come off rather well. The president turns out to be a fairly decent sort, having yielded, in his de-

sire to dismiss Mulcahy, not to the legislature, but to the budget; besides, Mulcahy's competence is in considerable doubt. Domna Rejnev, John Bentkoop, Mrs. Fortune—almost all the characters are half-way human, and the only positive monster is Mulcahy, who would fare badly on any set of values. Jocelyn itself is no worse than absurd, and as one can find harsher things to say of our educational institutions, progressive or traditional, the principles of progressive education stand a good chance of surviving this attack.

Now such writing as this may be as witty, nasty, brilliant and precise in characterization as you please, and Mary McCarthy's has a good measure of these qualities; but it cannot be successful satire. It is much too dependent on the object of its own ridicule, it derives from and always returns to the institutions it would like to destroy. And what satire fails in its attempt to destroy, it tends to strengthen and preserve.

All of this repeats, at the level of values, the faults in the structure of the fiction as such. The most important thing in fiction is binding connection, that which makes the characters adhere to one another, as it were of their own affinity, through all the situations the novelist invents. This is love. It cannot be derived from the satirical connection, for while the satire may provide the rationale for the chain of events and a demonstration of a philosophical opinion, it deals only with values and is extraneous to the fiction proper. Yet it is this which Mary McCarthy vainly tries to do in her last two novels when she pushes her characters together in murky scenes over which her style presides in mocking and pompous, often Homeric, condescensions; she would have satire do the work of love. Apparently she cannot prevent the substitution, because satire has become for her more than a genre; a virtual ontology which throws up a world of ridiculous objects, even when she herself belongs to that world and berates it only because she is unable to break her dependence on it.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Mr. Rosenfeld is well known as a critic of fiction; formerly NR associate editor.

THE LIBERAL BISHOP

BY THE WAY, by Francis J. McConnell (Abingdon-Cokesbury; \$3.50).

IF ONE IS interested in the Methodists with whom Bishop Francis McConnell has been so long identified, or American Protestantism which he has influenced, or the contemporary life of American churchmen, he will find the Bishop's autobiography a useful and readable document, told with humor and simplicity.

His recollections of his grandparents go back to the frontier period, and even the anecdotes of his own boyhood remind us of how rapidly the American pattern of thought has changed. One instance is the attitude toward college education. After his father's death, neighbors, learning that his mother was to continue sending Francis away to school, tried to dissuade her because "this kind of thing is stripping the countryside of its strongest boys." But "Mother kept on sending her sons to college."

An episode which I particularly enjoy is about an eccentric in an Ohio village who had become unhinged. The community believed it was because the man, a "forty-niner," had had his gold dust stolen. They were sorry for him, and allowed him privileges a normal person couldn't have. One Sunday, a dull, ponderous guest preacher was droning away at a written sermon, when suddenly minister and congregation were startled by the eccentric's brisk voice from a rear seat: "Well, well, well! Something will have to be done! We've been going for 45 minutes and we aren't getting anywhere!" This effectively ended the sermon. It was one of the experiences which Francis McConnell never forgot; in fact, it influenced his own preaching schedule when he became a minister.

One would expect an Ohioan reaching voting age in the period of Republican ascendancy typified by the McKinley regime to devote a portion of his story to politics. He does this part very well. Its non-professional character does not destroy its authenticity.

Some of the most significant passages are those on his tours of duty in Mexico, China and India. In the Mexican Missions program he had a front seat view

of the Revolution and the turbulent period following President Madero's assassination. His account is enlightening.

Bishop McConnell's service of unpopular causes has drawn criticism from some laymen in his own church. For that reason I anticipated a thorough and perhaps defensive statement of his political and social philosophy. But it is not there. Instead, there are only brief references to his social views and organizational activities such as those in behalf of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The handling of this phase of his ministry leaves one with a clear impression that there could be nothing dangerous about his "radicalism."

Interesting revelations are there, however, of his own liberal attitude toward theology, and his conviction that the Christian religion is inextricably tied to good works. Time and again he reveals

I had my share of criticism during the long season of the elections [to the Bishopric]. To someone who was saying that I was an iceberg, a man who had a milder view of me said, 'Oh, that's too strong and too rough!' 'All right,' said the other, 'I will simply say that if a mosquito should bite him and draw blood, the mosquito would die of chill!'

But though often criticized, his own attitude, as the book indirectly but impressively reveals, is one of tolerant friendliness as he looks at others, and humor as he looks at himself.

BROOKS HAYS

Mr. Hays, prominent Baptist layman, is a member of Congress from Arkansas.

WITHOUT SENTIMENTALITY

BEETHOVEN LETTERS, JOURNALS AND CONVERSATION, edited by Michael Hamburger (Pantheon; \$3.75).

MR. HAMBURGER'S collection is a short anthology, and of course it would be better if it were a little longer. However, for what it is, it is a brilliant accomplishment and a welcome exception to the old pattern, in which most of the material currently available was intended to be inspirational as well as informative, and made for piously dull reading.

The introductory remarks are obviously the work of a man who has a great affection for his subject, but the

usual sentimentality is absent. The documents themselves have been chosen with great care and an unusual sensitivity. They present a picture of their author which can only be excelled by the most meticulous biographer.

The translations are faithful but are put into a pleasant English style. They tend to have more charm than grandeur, and (for me at least) have a great deal more humanity than the familiar, stuffy readings. Good contributions to the Beethoven literature are rare. This seems to be the one. ROBERT EVETT

FATHER OF ATLANTIC UNION

AFTER ALL, by Norman Angell (Farrar, Straus & Young; \$4.50).

NORMAN ANGELL, now in his 78th year, has lived a full life and tells of it with modesty, charm and insight. Born into a Victorian Tory family, he soon became a questioning rebel. At the age of fifteen he had studied in England, France and Geneva and was the editor of a biweekly English paper in Switzerland. In his later teens he went to America where he lived for a decade as a farmer, cowboy and prospector. Returning to Europe, he established the Paris edition of Lord Northcliffe's *Daily Mail* and remained connected with the great press lord until 1912. Meanwhile *The Great Illusion* (1909) had made him well known throughout the Western world. After the war, he was member of Parliament for the Labor Party and received the Nobel Peace Prize in the year in which Hitler came to power.

Norman Angell has published forty two books in the last fifty years. They all centered on one theme, "A Plea for Rationalism in Politics." Three of his most important early books were published in the U. S., *America and the New World State* in 1912, *The Dangers of Half Preparedness* in 1916, and *The Political Conditions of Allied Success* in 1918. They remained unheeded: time and the public were only thirty years later ripe for them.

For fifty years Angell watched the fatal drift to war and tried to halt it. The book in which he sums up his life's experience is a fascinating book, and

perhaps the one which I would put first on any list of suggested reading for students of international relations, of war and peace, and of psychology. Many people have accepted today what Norman Angell contended for thirty years ago: that only a visibility growing unity of the West could preserve its peace and liberty. But more important is his underlying approach to the psychological problem involved. Angell was for many years connected with the popular press, later on with parliamentary politics, and always occupied with pamphleteering and public speaking to unusually wide and varied audiences.

He has learned from long experience that our troubles arise from the emotionally twisted thinking of the majority of men, that what is needed for the public is a better grounding in reality, relatedness and responsibility; that it is no use, to exhort people to be more moral, for we are not faced in our troubles with morally bad intentions—few people deliberately chose evil over good—but with morally good intentions which miscarried because people were not ready to set aside emotional prepossessions and to examine the evidence of both sides. A lynching party or a "people's" court are usually animated by intense moral indignation and persuaded that they are executing justice. Norman Angell knows that it is extremely difficult to get men to look at the facts and interpret them rightly. "But there are situations in which that rare and difficult thing is the only hope for salvation. As our society becomes more complicated we must somehow manage to be a little wiser about it, to increase our understanding of it; of each other, that is." Angell is neither optimistic nor pessimistic. The union of the democracies which he demanded in 1918 could have prevented World War II. Its realization now having begun, it may prevent World War III. Though people do not grow wise, they grow sometimes wiser. Norman Angell's book may help a great deal toward it. But it is much more than a guide for the perplexed. It is a great human document, and a document of this our time, a time of trouble and of hope.

HANS KOHN

SHADES OF DISHONESTY

HOW TO GET RICH IN WASHINGTON, by Blair Bolles (Norton; \$3.75).

MR. BOLLES offers a clear, literate, and overwhelmingly depressing account of the spread of corruption in the federal government during the last decade. Among others he gives examples of the more spectacular shenanigans of the RFC, the Surplus Property and the War Assets Administration, the Maritime Commission, the Internal Revenue Bureau, the Commerce Department, the Defense Production Administration, the Office of Contract Settlement; shenanigans ranging from uncomplicated thievery and the crudest kind of nepotism to the more refined but no less costly forms of bureaucratic generosity involved in the profligate dispensation of tax amortization certificates. Very little Bolles has to say is new, the newspapers having spooned out this fare in such heaping portions that all but the hungriest readers find it unnecessary to ask for more.

While it is useful for several reasons (not least, to counterbalance the malevolent and lurid nonsense of the Lait-Mortimer "Confidential" series) to have available an honest and authoritative catalogue of government scandals, it would have been even more useful if Bolles had ventured some reflections on the causes of the evils described. It is a good thing to have the rascals named, thrown out, and, if possible, put in jail; it is a good thing, also, not to delude oneself that those panting to succeed them will turn out any better. What one would most wish to see discussed, for a change, are the contemporary ideas, trends, main currents and forces contributing to dishonesty in government; the debasement of the concept of public office as a trust, the causes of the prevailing climate of cynicism and decadence, the corrupting influence of war and the war mentality, the corrosive effects of widespread anxiety and hatred—these topics instead of the minute, unsavory details about the knaves who happen to hold power and happen to have been caught abusing it.

JAMES R. NEWMAN

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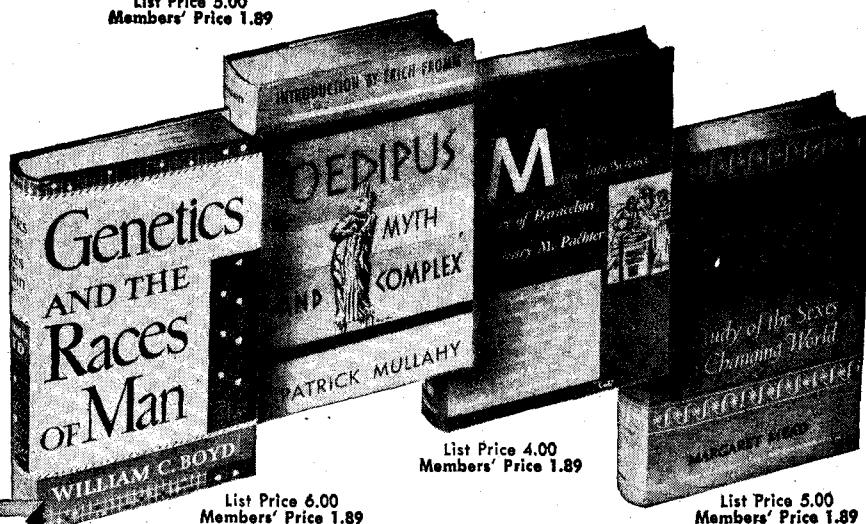
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